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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

December 1983

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are slightly dated. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in November 1983)

AFRICA GENERAL

Gutteridge, William. "The Military in African Politics--Success or Failure?" Journal of Contemporary African Studies, April 1982, pp. 241-52.

The author briefly analyzes the causes and circumstances of military coups in Africa and then attempts to evaluate the ensuing military regimes. The two main criteria he uses in evaluating the military regimes are whether they have helped to consolidate statehood and whether they have been more successful than their civilian predecessors in promoting their populations' welfare. Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria, and Zaire are used as examples. He concludes that intervention by the military can provide short-term gains in terms of economic reorganization and political regrouping. However, military regimes have little propensity for raising the level of political culture or for facilitating radical social change.

"Israel Woos Nervous Dictators." Arabia, October 1983, pp. 20-23.

A negative assessment of Israeli initiatives to establish relations with Sub-Saharan African nations. With normalization of relations with Liberia and Zaire, Israel's diplomatic efforts to widen its sphere of influence have increased. Nigeria is presented as the prime target. The issue is presented as a Muslim--non-Muslim struggle between Christian southerners favoring Israel and Muslim northerners opposed to relations.

Nabe, Oumar. "Military Expenditures and Industrialization in Africa." Journal of Economic Issues, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 1983), pp. 575-87.

Using 1967-76 data from the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the author examines the correlation between military expenditures in 26 African countries, including all of North Africa. Devising a model incorporating military expenditures, economic development factors, social development factors, and gross domestic product for manufacturing, Nabe concludes that military expenditures have a negative effect on development.

Volman, Daniel. A Continent Besieged: Foreign Military Activities in Africa since 1975. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Policy Studies, 1983, 27 pp.

Discusses the "patterns of militarization" (arms transfer and technical assistance, surrogate forces, and direct military intervention); foreign military operations throughout Africa, especially Soviet, Cuban, French and US activities; and the "prospects and perils of foreign military activity in Africa." Includes two detailed appendixes: "Arms Transfers to Africa" and "Military Forces in Africa." The latter appendix includes information on principal arms suppliers and foreign troops in the various armed forces throughout Africa.

Welch, Claude E., Jr. "Military Disengagement from Politics: Lessons from West Africa." Armed Forces and Society, vol. 9, no. 4 (Summer 1983), pp. 541-54.

Draws generalizations about the nature of military governments in West Africa and their attempts to return power to civilian control. The author draws comparisons among Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. There is very little analysis and the comparisons are sketchy.

ANGOLA

Doyle, Mark. "Angola: 'A new situation'." West Africa, 24 October 1983, pp. 2442-43.

Many of UNITA's recent military successes are credited to South African Defense Force (SADF) intervention and support. In addition, many of these military successes are downplayed in significance. The author concludes: "Luanda's accounts of the military situation are more detailed, less extravagant and therefore more credible than UNITA's."

Helmore, Richard. "Angola: Improving Security in Diamond Province." West Africa, 31 October 1983, pp. 2508-9.

After oil, diamonds are Angola's chief source of foreign currency. The Luanda government is going to great lengths to stop diamond smuggling in Luanda-Norte Province, Angola's principal diamond producing area. Members of the Angolan Department of Diamond Security (DSD) are being trained in London; there is also talk about an "expatriate security presence in Luanda-Norte."

White Paper on Acts of Aggression by the Racist South African Regime Against the People's Republic of Angola. Luanda: Ministry of External Relations. Reviewed in West Africa, 24 October 1983, pp. 2462-63.

"Lists the cost in human, military, and financial terms" of South African incursions into Angola. Also "discusses the nature of Cuba's involvement in Angola." Contains several "useful maps, a chronological list of South African aggression and some grim pictures."

CAMEROON

"Biya's Bulldozer." Africa Confidential, 5 October 1983, pp. 6-7.

The political dispute between incoming President Paul Biya and his predecessor, Ahmadou Ahidjo, has resulted in partisans of the latter being dismissed and replaced. The army's role is considered likely to increase since the army's loyalty forestalled attempts by the Ahidjo clan to prevent changes. Important biographic information on civilian and military personalities is also presented.

CHAD

Doyle, Mark. "The View From The North." West Africa, 5 September 1983, pp. 2045-47.

A journalistic account of troop and military materiel movements in northern Chad up to the end of August.

"The Endless War: Anatomy of the Conflict." New African, September 1983, pp. 32-34.

A precise background account of the history of the Chad civil war with an emphasis on personalities in the conflict. Important biographic information on leading political and military leaders and their ethnic affiliations is highlighted.

O'Ballance, Edgar. "Chad." Islamic World Defense, vol. 2, no. 4 (1983), pp. 24-32.

An analysis of the 18-year-old Chad civil war. Although it repeats many errors which have become accepted facts and tends to oversimplify, the article presents a good synthesis of past events which have led to the present crisis.

"Operation Manta." TAM (Terre, Air, Mer), October 1983, pp. 8-11.

A two-part description of "Operation Manta," the French military intervention in Chad. Details of mobilization and materiel, as well as the political justification for the operation are included. The second part is a narrative by an enlisted man of his thoughts and experiences during the mobilization. Transport to Chad over Egyptian and Sudanese airspace and fear of Libyan aircraft were noted.

"Revolt in South Threatens Habre's Grip on South." Africa News, 3 October 1983, pp. 1-3, 6.

Increased dissident activity in the south of Chad threatens President Habre's ability to deal effectively with the Libyans and rebel forces. Strong antagonism to Habre among southerners remains, and most southern leaders are suspicious of Habre's motives. Lawless acts by national army men have further alienated many southerners.

Soudan, Francois. "Tchad: La Menace Qui Vient du Sud (Chad: The Menace Which Comes from the South)." Jeune Afrique, 28 October 1983, pp. 36-37.

An assessment of destabilization in southern Chad and attempts by the Libyans and their Chadian allies to create greater problems for the Habre government. Soldiers belonging to the national army are, in large part, responsible for alienating elements of the southern Chad people who do not trust Habre.

"Tchad (Chad)." Paris Match, 9 September 1983, pp. 28-37.

A series of reports on the deployment of French troops in Chad. Largely pictorial, the article contains information on troop morale, military materiel in place, and the relationship between French troops and the Chadians.

"Tchad: Ce Qui Va Se Passer (Chad: What is Going to Happen)." Jeune Afrique, 19 October 1983, pp. 50-56.

Important information on Chad's armed forces and the French intervention force, which includes important biographical information on Hissene Habre's

most important military officer, Idriss Deby. We learn that French troops are being paid 13,000 FF (over \$1,500) monthly for a corporal and double that for a captain and that it is costing the French well over \$1.5 million per day to maintain their intervention. Important information on Libyan and rebel emplacements is also given.

ETHIOPIA

Soudan, Francois. "Mengistu Haile Mariam--Un Marxiste a la Tete de l'OAU (Mengistu Haile Mariam--A Marxist at the Head of the OAU)." Jeune Afrique, 29 June 1983, pp. 40-42.

A short biographical account of Mengistu's life which traces his rise to power. His latest achievement is gaining the presidency of the OAU in June 1983, a position that has finally accorded him recognition from his African peers after being isolated and ignored by them for 8 years.

GABON

"Les Manoeuvres Bilaterales: Katcha et Mayumba 83 (The Bilateral Maneuvers: Katcha and Mayumba 1983)." Freres d'Armes, September-October 1983, pp. 9-20.

Detailed information and photographs of the joint Franco-Gabonese and Franco-Togolese military maneuvers of 1983. French forces, including elements of the Rapid Assistance Force, were deployed to join African counterparts. Katcha, the Togo-French exercise, was held up-country in a savannah environment. Mayumba, the Gabonese-French operation, was initiated on the coast and proceeded inland.

IVORY COAST

"La Division d'Application des Transmission de Bouake (Signals Instruction Division of Bouake)." Freres d'Armes, September-October 1983, pp. 24-27.

Information on a new officer training school which was created because the French parent training school was incapable of handling additional African candidates. The facilities and their mission are outlined and the training equipment is detailed.

LIBERIA

"Liberia: The Road From Jerusalem." West Africa, 5 September 1983, pp. 2050-51.

A synopsis of General Samuel Doe's trip to Israel and the opening of the Liberian Embassy in Jerusalem. Article discusses the nature of the agreements made during the trip between the two governments, particularly the defense and security pact.

Momoh, Eddie. "Liberia: The Struggle Within." West Africa, 24 October 1983, pp. 2440-41.

Article discusses the present discord within General Samuel Doe's People's Redemption Council (PRC) and the sacking of former Foreign Minister Boima

Fahnbullah. Gives a brief view of Liberian popular reactions to the resumption of diplomatic ties with Israel and the infiltration of the government by Communist sympathizers.

NAMIBIA

"131 Marine Protection Unit: Equally at home in the desert, at sea, in the bush, towns or harbour" and "A Bulwark Against Marxist Threat." Paratus (Pretoria), September 1983, pp. 18-21.

Two detailed articles concerning the 131 Marine Protection Unit (MPU) in Walvis Bay. Describes its mission and tasks, training, military capabilities, etc. Lists leading personalities in the unit. Unlike the US or Royal Marines, this unit essentially "operates as an infantry group in all environments."

Rotberg, Robert I., ed. Namibia: Political and Economic Prospects. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1983, 135 pp.

A collection of five essays on various political and economic aspects of Namibia. Of particular interest is Stanley Uys' essay entitled "SWAPO and the Postindependence Era." Uys states: "It has been argued that a SWAPO victory in Namibia will reduce the contemporary Soviet role, because, once Namibia is independent, the last colonial occupation will be ended, and South Africa's neighbors will look for a period of peace in which to rebuild their economies." Furthermore, "a specific feature of the development of the socialist-orientated countries in Africa is that even after their choice of the noncapitalist way they are still in the orbit of the world capitalist economic system."

"SWA Training School: Training to be Perfect." Paratus (Pretoria), September 1983, pp. 70-72.

A photo essay on the training course and facilities at the South West Africa Military School located at Okahandja, about 70 kilometers north of Windhoek.

SOUTH AFRICA

Dorning, W. "Lessons From the Past in Dealing With the Terrorist Threat." Paratus (Pretoria), September 1983, pp. 26-27.

Captain Dorning of the SADF Military Information Bureau points out that South Africa has been the focus of guerrilla warfare and terrorist acts since the 18th century. The early settlers responded by organizing Commando units. The present-day Commando system, based on the settlers' organization, will help South Africa cope with the current situation. This is the first in a series of articles dealing with terrorist activities and countermeasures in South Africa.

"Editorial: The New ANC Structure." Sechaba (London), September 1983, pp. 1-2.

An official ANC statement concerning its recent reorganization. The Revolutionary Council (established at the Morogoro Conference in 1969) has been replaced by the Politico-Military Council (PMC) with its subdepartments and

the External Coordinating Council (ECC) with its sub-committees. The highest "organ" is the ANC "Conference;" the highest executive body is the National Executive Committee. The National Working Committee serves as the executive body between the normal sessions of the National Executive Committee. The three highest ranking ANC officers are the President, the Secretary-General, and the Treasurer-General.

Little, I. C. "'An Intelligent Course.'" Paratus (Pretoria), September 1983, pp. 4-5.

Captain Little describes a recent 5-day course offered to South African Naval Intelligence Officers. The objective of the course was to give these Intelligence Officers actual at-sea experience.

"The Vehicle Proving Ground." Paratus (Pretoria), June 1983, pp. 18-20.

A photo essay on ARMSCOR's Vehicle Proving Ground at Elandsfontein. The Proving Ground's facilities are divided into four categories: the roads section, the obstacle section, suspension testing facilities, and the gradeability section.

"West Park Commando: A Plan for Every Emergency." Paratus (Pretoria), September 1983, pp. 34-35.

The West Park Commando unit, based in Johannesburg, has developed a very successful Civil Defense Plan for Sandton Town, near Johannesburg. The Plan, which "includes all relevant information pertaining to security matters," such as details of shops, shopping centers, schools, etc., has become a training standard for other Commando units.

SUDAN

Ali, Taisier Mohamed. "The Road to Jouda." Review of African Political Economy, no. 26 (1983), pp. 4-14.

Details the problems of tenant farmers in Sudan in the 1950s which culminated in a revolt at Jouda in 1956 in which perhaps 350 farmers were killed. The author feels that the difficulties which caused this revolt were never dealt with and the lines of class division between tenant farmers and landowners have become more pronounced.

Kursany, Ibrahim. "Peasants of the Nuba Mountains Region." Review of African Political Economy, no. 26 (1983), pp. 35-44.

Concludes that the Nuba have a precapitalist socioeconomic system and that they are being progressively subordinated to the market system. Also, there is a very low degree of democratic participation among the Nuba. The author believes that these factors must be understood in order for an effective development policy to be implemented.

O'Brien, Jay. "The Formation of the Agricultural Labour Force in Sudan." Review of African Political Economy, no. 26 (1983), pp. 15-34.

The agricultural labor force in the Sudan has moved from being a basically migratory force of family groups based on seasonal recruitment into a

national labor market. This was largely caused by the expansion of capitalist agriculture. Wages for different sectors of the agricultural economy are being equalized and work is based on individuals rather than on family groups. A complex but interesting article for those interested in manpower issues in Sudan.

SWAZILAND

Nyeko, Balam. Swaziland. World Bibliographical Series, vol. 24. Oxford: Clio Press, Ltd., 1982, 136 pp.

A comprehensive bibliography organized by subject containing approximately 500 items on all aspects of Swaziland. Also contains a cross-reference index and a map of Swaziland.

TANZANIA

Adam, Mohamed Mlamali and Rajab, Ahmed. "When they Pipe in Zanzibar" Africa Now, October 1983, pp. 13-16.

Zanzibaris are becoming increasingly frustrated about their position within the United Republic of Tanzania. The authors believe President Karume of Zanzibar agreed to union with Tanganyika in 1964 because he felt it would have the benefit of increasing Zanzibar's security while not seriously affecting its freedom. Zanzibari complaints about mainland domination of the union are not new. The vehemence with which they are being expressed and the participation of high-ranking officials in the complaining is a new phenomenon, however.

Togo

See entry under GABON.

UGANDA

"Uganda: Northern Quagmire." Africa Confidential, 2 November 1983, pp. 3-5.

Fighting between Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRF) guerrillas and the government's Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) in the northern West Nile Province continues. The UNLA forces are not capable of controlling the province or defeating the UNRF. Since February 1983 the guerrillas have launched several successful attacks against UNLA posts. The article speculates on directions the UNRF may take in order to expand its operations. The possibility of cooperation with the main anti-Obote guerrilla group, the National Resistance Army (NRA), remains. The UNRF appears to have distanced itself from the group of Idi Amin supporters residing in southern Sudan.

UPPER VOLTA

Some, Sie Offi. "Le Coup d'Etat du 4 Aout: Une Issue Previsible (The August 4 Coup d'Etat: A Foreseeable Event)." Bingo (Dakar), October 1983, pp. 16, 21.

An account of the successive military coups d'etat which details the increasing politicization of the military and the success of the leftist officers now in power. Military intervention became legitimized by

repetition. The Council for the Salvation of the People failed because it insisted on removing the military from political life. This is in marked contrast to the new government which considers the military as the main "progressive" force.

"Upper Volta: The Sankara Revolution." New African, November 1983, pp. 28-29.

Background information on the 4 August 1983 putsch which brought Captain Thomas Sankara to power. The article argues that Sankara and his fellow officers preempted a move to the right in which France was strongly involved. It argues that France and Upper Volta were in the process of changing the military cooperation agreement between the two countries which would have permitted French troops to intervene to support the regime.

ZIMBABWE

Davidow, Jeffrey. Dealing with International Crises: Lessons from Zimbabwe. Muscatine, Iowa: The Stanley Foundation, Occasional Paper #34, October 1983, 23 pp.

Davidow, Director of the Office of Inter-African Affairs within the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs, states that lessons learned from the quest for Zimbabwe's independence can be applied to other international situations. Some lessons to be learned are: conflicts are not always ripe for settlement; it pays to keep plugging away; to be effective, sanctions must be used skillfully; the briefer the transition, the better; the best mediators may not be powerless and impartial; a revolutionary movement's rhetoric is not necessarily an accurate indication of its actions once in power; and skilled manpower is a developing nation's most precious commodity.

"Zimbabwe: 'Winning Hearts and Minds'." Africa Now, August 1983, p. 24.

The Mugabe government's pacification program in Matabeleland uses repression as its centerpiece. Although the infamous Fifth Brigade has been withdrawn from the area, the Army's First Brigade is still present. In addition, there is a "plethora of police and intelligence" groups still very active in Matabeleland, including the regular Zimbabwe Republic Police, the paramilitary Police Support Unit, ZIPOLIS ("a police intelligence body"), the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO), military intelligence, and the military police. The author questions the reliability of the central government's claims of increasing support among the Ndebele ethnic group. The article also describes some of the excesses carried out by the Fifth Brigade, including the indiscriminate killing which wiped out an unknown number of the CIO's undercover agents and informers in Matabeleland.